

The TEXTILE MUSEUM JOURNAL 1987

Volume 26

The Textile Museum

Edited by Dolores E. Fairbanks

Washington, D.C.

1988

Copy editor:
Ingrid Karen Young
Designer:
Polly Sexton
Printer:
Schneidereith and Sons

©1988 by The Textile Museum ISSN 0083-7407

Cover:
Silk textile fragments,
See Mary Anderson
McWilliams, "Prisoner
Imagery in Safavid Textiles," Fig. 9
Photography:
Edward Owen

Note to contributors:

In 1962 The Museum initiated *The Textile Museum Journal* to foster research and publication on the history of textile arts. Emphasis is placed primarily upon research relating to textiles from the geographic areas represented in the museum's collections: the Near East, Central, South and Southeast Asia, and South and Central America. The journal provides a forum for original research on the artistic and technical aspects of textiles in their historic and cultural contexts.

The Textile Museum Journal invites submission of original articles that fall within its aims and scope. Manuscripts should be twenty to forty-five doublespaced typed pages and be accompanied by an abstract and cover sheet with title and short autobiographical statement. Authors must follow the most recent edition of Chicago Manual of Style (currently 13th ed.). Authors may submit no more than twenty good-quality 4 x 5 or 8 x 10 black-and-white glossy photographs, including camera-ready artwork. All illustrative material must be accompanied by a separately typed sheet of figure captions.

For further information, write to the Coordinator of Publication, *The Textile Museum Journal*, 2320 S Street, NW, Washington, DC 20008.

CONTENTS

Mary Anderson McWilliams	
Costume and Ceremonial Textiles of Bhutan	25
Diana K. Mycrs	
Learning to Weave in Chinchero	55
Christine and Edward Franquemont	
About the Authors	79

Prisoner Imagery in Safavid Textiles



PRISONER IMAGERY in SAFAVID TEXTILES

The role textiles can play in illuminating a given moment in history is well demonstrated by a particular group of woven silks that feature scenes of Persians and their captives. These silks offer what may be the best visual documentation of a series of events significant in the history of Iran during the Safavid dynasty (1501-1722). Sixteen different silk textiles that depict prisoner scenes have been attributed to Safavid Iran. Thirteen of the textiles appear to represent historical events from the long reign of the second Safavid ruler, Shah Tahmasp I (1524-1576).¹

Since this is an unusually large number of textiles to have survived from the Safavid period with the same specific subject matter, this group of thirteen forms the focus of this article. All but the four textiles illustrated in Figs. 2, 4, 8, and 10 are woven in lampas technique.² The structure of the four exceptions cannot be determined with confidence from published photographs, and I have not been able to examine them firsthand.

The textiles vary considerably in the quality and quantity of iconographic information presented in their woven patterns. The textiles shown in Figs. 1-5 yield sufficient information for identification of the events depicted. Based on comparison with Iranian paintings, the figures of the captors appear in all cases to be Safavid soldiers or courtiers. Their costumes are datable to the middle decades of the sixteenth century. It is the attributes of the captives, however, that require our attention, for they are the key to identifying these scenes.

In terms of iconographic content, the textiles shown in Figs. 1 and 2 are the most important in the group. The two fragments depicted in Fig. 1 would have been con-

nected in the original pattern, as shown in Fig. 1a. A Persian soldier shouldering a musket and wearing a military helmet and a flower-buckled belt holds the leash on a male prisoner who has a long handlebar mustache and a long, tapering hat that folds to hang down the back. With his arms bound behind him, he is in what may be called the male-prisoner stance. His leash may have connected to another prisoner in line behind him, but that part of the design is lost. The woman wears pendant earrings and a headdress that is mounded at the top. Her arms move freely, although she is bound at the upper arm, and she is holding a young child. The small tusked, clovenhooved animals at her feet appear to be pigs or boar.

The same players are featured in a more dynamic scene in Fig. 2. The male prisoner stands with his arms bound at his back, facing left. The female prisoner is leashed to a cord controlled by a Safavid, identifiable by his distinctive turban wound about a baton. Mother and child reach toward each other in a poignant gesture as they are torn apart.

A fair amount of information can also be gleaned from a small fragment in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of Art (Fig. 3). In structure, it is a typical Safavid lampas: the green background of the design is formed by the satin foundation weave, and the motifs by supplementary yarns bound in twill on top of the foundation weave. Examination reveals that this small green textile has been "doctored." The faces, as well as the floral motifs on the shoulder of the figure on the left, appear to be drawn in ink. The figure at right, who now looks like a woman, was originally a man.

Firsthand viewing shows that the fig-

Mary Anderson McWilliams

Left:
Fig. 5
Silk textile fragment, Iran,
mid-sixteenth century;
lampas with satin foundation weave and supplementary twill binding; enriched
with metallic wefts; red
ground; 120.7 cm x 67.3 cm
Courtesy of The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York,
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer
Bequest, 1952 (52.20.12)

Fig. 1
Silk textile fragments, Iran, mid-sixteenth century; after Martin, Figurale Persische Stoffe aus dem Zeitraum 1550-1650, Fig. 8:
"Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin; 26 cm x 22 and 18 cm"

Fig. 1a
Pattern reconstruction by
Mary Anderson McWilliams







ure on the right originally had a handlebar mustache and a long, tapering hat that drooped down the back. Traces of these details are still visible because the ground weave is darker where the supplementary yarns once covered it and protected it from the fading effects of light. Similarly preserved in "shadow" is the leash that probably connected the figures. With the lost details reconstructed, the figure on the right can be recognized as the male captive, and the figure on the left as the female captive. Missing in this fragment is the captor. Metalwrapped yarns enrich costume details of the two captives.

The fragment shown in Fig. 4 features nearly identical costume details for the three main figures: the captor—wearing a helmet as in the textile shown in Fig. 1—the captive man, and the captive woman. An additional figure appears here in the seated man wearing a Safavid turban with baton, dat-



Fig. 2
Silk textile fragment, Iran,
mid-sixteenth century; after
Karoly Gombos, Regi Perzsa
Szonyegek, Sarvar,
Hungary, 1981, cover
illustration. Nasdady Ferenc
Museum, Sarvar, Hungary

able to the mid-sixteenth century. This figure holds a small, circular object in his hand.

Details identifying the prisoners have been rearranged a bit in the fragment shown in Fig. 5. In this textile, a small child seated behind the Safavid soldier wears the pointed, droopy hat, while the mustachioed man in the male-prisoner stance is bareheaded. This textile is again a satin lampas, and metal-wrapped wefts are used in the costumes of the captives.

From these first five textiles, four features appear to be significant: (1) the presence of the captive man, woman, and child, particularly the woman and child; (2) the details of the costumes, including the distinctive tapering hat of the man and the mounded hat of the woman; (3) the leashes and captive stances of the prisoners; and (4) except in one case, the long handlebar mustache on the male captive.

In the remaining textiles (Figs. 6-13),

some of these attributes drop out and certain details blur. These objects may represent later or provincial reworkings of the subject matter.

A satin lampas in The Textile Museum (Fig. 6) features the male prisoner only. He appears in his characteristic stance, hat, and mustache. Also seen in this textile is the seated figure holding up a circular object. Foil-wrapped wefts enrich the costume of the captive.

It has been possible to make a preliminary reconstruction of the pattern (Fig. 6a) from additional fragments of this textile in other collections.⁵

Fragments of the seventh textile are scattered widely. Illustrated in Fig. 7 is one small piece now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁶ Recombining the known fragments yields the scene illustrated in Fig. 7a, depicting two Safavid males and a kneeling female captive. A plausible interpreta-



Fig. 3
Silk textile fragment, Iran, mid-sixteenth century; lampas with satin foundation weave and supplementary twill binding; enriched with metallic wefts; green ground; 25.2 cm x 16.2 cm Courtesy of Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., S.86.0489

Right:
Fig. 4
Silk textile fragment,
Iran, mid-sixteenth
century; after Pope, A
Survey of Persian Art, pl.
1009: "Thaulow
Museum, Kiel; satin,
green ground; enriched
with metal threads;
H. repeat 48 cm."

tion is that the man who holds the leash on the kneeling woman is presenting or offering her to the seated fellow.

In the textile shown in Fig. 8, the prisoner figure combines male and female attributes: the male headgear and the female earring and arm position. The undulating vine with large leaves also occurs, but here the leaves are decorated with superimposed secondary floral motifs.

Many small fragments of the textile shown in Fig. 9 and on the cover are known to exist, in several public collections. The pattern reconstruction reveals that the prisoner figure mixes the male headdress and the female earring and arm position. The undulating vine with large, embellished leaves appears in a vestigial form. Metalwrapped wefts embellish the costumes of the prisoners.

An abbreviated or even shorthand version of the prisoner iconography occurs in the small cartouches on the fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 10). Few details are visible in the vignette, but the male captive appears in his characteristic







Far left:
Fig. 6
Silk textile fragment, Iran, mid-sixteenth century; lampas with satin foundation weave and supplementary twill binding; enriched with metallic wefts; bluegreen ground; 52.1 cm x 33cm
Courtesy of The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 3.327

Left: Fig. 6a Pattern reconstruction by Mary Anderson McWilliams

hat and stance. The tiny fragment shown in Fig. 11 features the prisoner without his mustache, standing in the male-prisoner stance. On the left, a leash curves outward from his torso. In the upper left-hand corner is a turban, perhaps that of his captor.

Very worn and faded, the fragment illustrated in Fig. 12 features a Safavid warrior with battle-ax and sword slung across his thighs. He leads a much taller prisoner who sports the distinctive handlebar mustache and tapering hat. A black weft delineates facial details of both figures.

Seemingly related to the fragment illustrated in Fig. 12 is the fabric shown in Fig. 13.8 Both textiles feature a loosely drawn pattern in which facial details rendered in black stand out prominently. In this thirteenth textile, a Safavid warrior, nearly identical in stance and accoutrements to his counterpart in the textile shown in Fig. 12, leads a female prisoner, identifiable by her mounded hat. This last example yields the least specific and perhaps most blended information: the captive combines the male stance and the female headdress.

Although several of these textiles abbreviate or combine motifs, the iconography of this group appears to be sufficiently consistent for identification of the prisoners. Textual and visual documents from the sixteenth century suggest that these scenes represent Tahmasp's military campaigns in the nearby kingdoms of Georgia. We will begin with the textual sources.

Safavid historical texts are replete with descriptions of prisoners and captives. Even restricting our attention to the sixteenth century leaves a crowded field. Simply put, there were a great many wars and skirmishes fought during the first century of Safavid rule: there were wars of conquest and, subsequently, wars to suppress rebellion in the conquered lands; religious wars; civil wars; and plundering raids. The new Safavid state had tenacious enemies to the west in the Ottoman Turks and to the east in the Uzbeks. Prisoners were a natural byproduct of this military activity, and they were readily taken by all sides. In the vast majority of historical incidents, the prisoners were enemy soldiers or rebels and traitors. In other words, the prisoners were male military personnel.

By contrast, the prisoners depicted in these textiles include women and children as well. Significantly, women and children prisoners are specifically and repeatedly



Above:
Fig. 7
Silk textile fragment, Iran,
mid-sixteenth century;
lampas with satin foundation
weave and supplementary
twill binding; yellow-green
ground; 25.2 cm x 12 cm
Courtesy of The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York,
Gift of Mrs. John D.
Rockefeller, Jr., 1938
(38.112.1)

Right: Fig. 7a Pattern reconstruction by Mary Anderson McWilliams

Far right:
Fig. 8
Silk textile fragment, Iran,
mid-sixteenth century; after
Pope, A Survey of Persian
Art, pl. 1014: "National
Museum, Tehran; satin, red
ground; enriched with metal
thread; (detail)."







Fig. 9 and cover illustration Silk textile fragments, Iran, mid-sixteenth century; lampas weave with satin foundation and supplementary twill binding; enriched with metallic wefts; redground; pattern reconstruction by Milton Sonday, Nobuko Kajitani, and Lucy Maitland; placement of fragments on reconstruction by Rita Kauneckas Courtesy of The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 3.54 and 1986.7.1-4



Above:
Fig. 10
Silk textile fragment, Iran,
mid-sixteenth century;
H. 10 cm
Courtesy of the Victoria and
Albert Museum, London,
832D-1898

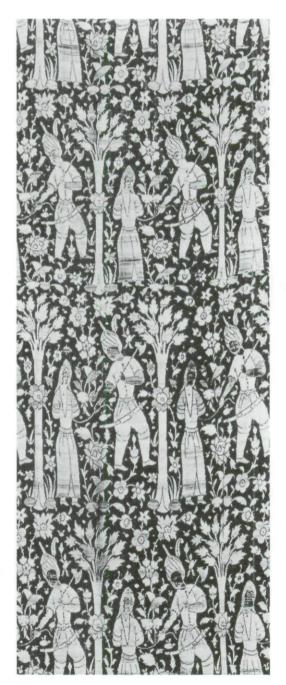
Right:
Fig. 11
Silk textile fragment, Iran,
mid-sixteenth century;
lampas with satin foundation weave and supplementary twill binding; green
ground; 2 cm x 14.5 cm
Courtesy of The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, New York,
Rogers Fund, 1909
(09.225.3)

Left:
Fig. 12
Silk textile fragment, Iran,
mid-sixteenth century; Abegg
Stiftung, Riggisberg, 1392;
lampas with satin foundation weave and supplementary twill binding; green
ground; 88.3 cm x 68 cm
Photography byVirag, Abegg
Stiftung

Right:
Fig. 13
Silk textile fragment, Iran, mid-sixteenth century; after Arthur Upham Pope, A
Survey of Persian Art,
1939, pl. 1008: "Satin, red ground; enriched with metal thread; H. prisoner
26 cm"







mentioned by the Safavid chroniclers for Tahmasp's Georgian campaigns.

Georgia is in the mountainous region of Transcaucasia on the Black Sea. The Georgians had been Christians since the fourth century, members of the Greek Orthodox church, and their Christianity figured significantly in Tahmasp's policy toward them.

Emerging from the fifteenth century divided into four rival kingdoms, Georgia was unable to resist the imperial expansion of the Muslim empires that surrounded it in the sixteenth century: the Ottomans in the west and the Safavids in the east. The Safavids waged ferocious and continuous war with the Georgians during the sixteenth century. 10 Safavid sources specifically deal with the kingdoms of Kakhetia and Kartlia, in particular with the latter's capital city of Tiflis. At various times, the Safavids occupied parts of these areas and received tribute payment, but their control of the region was never very secure in the sixteenth century.

According to histories of the Safavid period, Tahmasp led four large-scale expeditions against Georgia between 1540 and 1553. From each of these, his armies brought back captives, mainly women and children, and booty.

Perhaps the best historical source for Tahmasp's Georgian campaigns is Hasan Rumlu. His history, *Ahsan al-Tawarikh*, was written in 1577-78, that is, within a year or two of Tahmasp's death in 1576.¹¹ Hasan Rumlu was an eyewitness to the second Georgian campaign, in 1546.

Additional documentation for Tahmasp's expeditions to Georgia can be found in the history of the reign of Shah Abbas I (1588-1629) written by Iskandar Munshi, *Tarikh-i alam ara-yi Abbasi.*¹² The section of this work that treats the reign of Tahmasp was completed in 1616. Iskandar Munshi's work is particularly useful in that it draws upon the writings of earlier Persian historians.

Tahmasp's autobiography is another source of information for the Georgian campaigns.¹³ It, however, offers less documentary information on the events than the preceding historians' works.

The Georgian chronicles of Vakhushta describe these events from the opposing viewpoint.¹⁴ Vakhushta's dates, however, do not tally exactly with those in the Per-

sian sources.

In describing Tahmasp's Georgian campaigns, both Hasan Rumlu and Iskandar Munshi specify that men, women, and children were taken prisoner by the Safavid army. Their descriptions are carefully couched in religious terms, casting Tahmasp's campaigns against Georgia in the context of a holy war against the infidel. The Persians are termed *ghazis*, meaning warriors of the faith, and the Georgians are usually referred to as *gabrs*, a word that, strictly speaking, applies only to Zoroastrians but is used generally in Safavid sources to indicate infidels.

Of the first expedition to Georgia in the years 1540-41, Hasan Rumlu writes: "One night, the Moslem army poured upon Tiflis, and plundered the city, and took captive women and children." Tahmasp's second expedition, in 1546, seems to have been made in revenge for the devastation of Azarbaijan by Georgian rebels. Of this campaign, Hasan Rumlu writes:

...the Shah set out for Georgia with a large army...There at a time of great cold, he made a night attack on the *Gabrs*, and covered the snow with their blood, and captured oxen and sheep, and burnt houses....At this time the writer, with certain Rumlu and Chapani *qurchis* [bodyguards of the king], met a body of the *Gabrs*, and he, with a Chapani *qurchi* named Shah Quli, charged and scattered them, and wounded and killed, or captured, many men.¹⁶

The third campaign, in 1551, was extremely costly to the Georgians. A number of forts and cities were captured by the Safavids. Iskandar Munshi writes of the action in Kartlia:

Several forts in the area were captured, and many Georgian women, beautiful as the maidens of paradise, and many youths, handsome as Joseph, of the breed of the youths of paradise, were taken prisoner; in addition, much booty fell into the hands of the victors....From this region, too, the *gazis* collected much wealth, countless prisoners, and flocks of sheep, goats, and other animals.¹⁷

Hasan Rumlu describes the same campaign in the following very literal translation by E.G. Browne:

The victorious champions encompassed the lands of the sinful unbelievers, lowlands and highlands, and every mountain and ridge...was levelled with the plain by the trampling of the [Persian] warriors. Not one who drew breath of those polytheists saved his soul alive from the circle of wrath and vengeance of 'and God encompasseth the unbelievers,' [Qur'an ii, 18] and, by lawful heritage, the wives, families, and property of the slain passed to their slayers.¹⁸

That the Georgian campaigns were cast as holy wars¹⁹ is confirmed in Tahmasp's autobiography. Of the 1553 invasion he writes that since it was the holy month of Ramadan and, therefore, an inappropriate time to war on fellow Muslims, he would march against the Georgians, "the unbelievers and enemy."²⁰

Tahmasp's fourth and last major campaign against Georgia took place in 1553. This followed the Turko-Persian peace treaty of Amasya in which Georgia was divided into spheres of influence between the Ottomans and the Safavids. The Safavids were experiencing the usual difficulty controlling their regions of Georgia. Hasan Rumlu writes:

At this time it was reported that the *Gabrs* were rebelling. So therefore the Shah set out to destroy the land of the infidels. And all that country was forest, so that the wind could not blow through the trees...the Georgians, being sore afraid, escaped to the hills and caves and forests, and were besieged in forts. And the *Ghazis* slew the men, and took capture their wives and children, and took booty, of cattle and sheep. Then the army marched on Gori...and plundered that land, and took prisoner fair young women and round-faced boys.²¹

Hasan Rumlu tells us that over thirty thousand prisoners were taken on this expedition. Iskandar Munshi concurs, writing:

In this campaign, more than thirty thousand prisoners were taken by the Safavids. The wives, daughters, and sons of the Georgian nobility were set aside for Shah Tahmasp....²²

According to the Georgian chronicles,

the mother of the king of Kartlia was taken prisoner on this expedition. She never reached the Safavid capital, however, for according to the sources, she feared her fate and took poison en route.²³

To sum up, several factors from the historical accounts suggest that the scenes in these textiles represent prisoners taken on Tahmasp's Georgian campaigns: most important is the emphasis our authors place on the women and children taken captive on the campaigns. By contrast, in the vast majority of Persian military actions, the prisoners taken are soldiers, that is, men. Second, our sources indicate that Georgian nobles and their families were taken prisoner. Noble status may explain two puzzling features of the textile patterns: the male captive's retention of his scabbard in many cases, and, the frequent use of metalwrapped yarns in detailing the prisoners' costumes, suggesting the wealth of the captives.

Third, the campaigns were viewed as holy wars against non-Muslims, for the Georgians were Christian. What may be a subtle indication that the prisoners were Christians is the presence of the pigs in the fragment in Fig. 1. In the Muslim Middle East, only Christians eat pork. Furthermore, prisoners-of-war constituted a major, legitimate source of slaves, and slavery was still widely practiced in the Islamic world at that time. According to Islamic law, one could only become a slave in one of two ways: one could be born into slavery, or one could be captured in a war and enslaved. Thus, with the holy war as a pretext, Georgia was an excellent source of slaves for the Persians. 24

Within the context of slavery, one may speculate that the seated figure holding up a circular object shown in Figs. 4 and 6 might be a Persian offering a coin to purchase a slave.

Visual documentation to confirm the identification of the prisoners in the group of textiles as Georgians comes from a variety of sources: Safavid, Ottoman, and Georgian painting. A curious aspect of the textiles is the lack of parallel imagery in Safavid painting. Many images of prisoners in Safavid painting could have served as generic, formal prototypes for the designers of these textiles,²⁵ but research to date has yet to uncover a painted scene with the

particular details observed in the thirteen textiles. This is odd, for the patterns woven into Safavid silks usually correspond closely with the images depicted in paintings that were produced in Safavid studios. Although parallel paintings may yet come to light, the preponderance of this imagery in textiles makes its absence thus far in painting seem significant.

Two reasons suggest themselves for this discrepancy. The first concerns the nature of Safavid painting. As we understand the field today, the manuscripts illustrated during the Safavid period were primarily literary, rather than historical works. Numerous lavishly illustrated poetic works were produced, but, by contrast, there are few illustrations in the histories of the period. The scenes on the textiles may represent a specific historic event that simply had not yet been illustrated in manuscripts or albums.

The second reason is that these textiles may represent an instance in which the difference in the functions of paintings and textiles dictated the development of a separate imagery for textiles. A painting in an album or manuscript can be viewed by, at most, two or three people at a time; it is a work for private viewing. Textiles, by contrast, can be public works of art, objects for display in society, in the form of costume or furnishing fabric.

The closest parallel to the prisoner imagery in the textile group that I have yet found in Persian painting occurs in the Habib al-Siyar, a general Persian history. Composed in the year 1523, the Habib al-Siyar preceeded Tahmasp's reign, which began in 1524. The painting in question (Fig. 14), however, occurs in a manuscript copied and illustrated in 1579-80, that is, three to four years after the death of Tahmasp. The painting has been identified as Timur enthroned and is signed by the artist, Siyavush Beg, who was a Georgian. Born around 1536-37, Siyavush Beg was taken from Georgia to the Safavid capital at Tabriz as a slave in the 1540s. As a boy, he served as a page to Tahmasp, and was later trained as a painter in the Safavid court studios.26

There is a close correspondence between the costume and physical attributes of the male captive in the textiles and those of Siyavush Beg's kneeling man. Both wear tapering hats that fall down the back and sport large handlebar mustaches. The figure in the painting, kneeling before Timur, may well represent a Georgian. The scene would be a poignant one for a Georgian slave to have created; like many rulers of Iran both before and after him, Timur raided and plundered Georgia.

Unlike the Safavids, the Ottomans had great interest in illustrated histories of their achievements. The painting shown in Fig. 15 is from a copy of the *Nusretname* (The

Fig. 14
"Timur Padishah enthroned," by Siyavush Beg,
ca. 1579-80, painting in
Habib al-Siyar,vol.3, fol.
321 recto; 25.4 cm x
15.2 cm
Courtesy of the Arthur M.
Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution,
Washington, D.C.,
S.86.0047





Fig. 15
"Conquest of Sheki in Shirvan, with Georgians under Alexander Khan II (Levandoglu), Prince of Kakhetia, in foreground" painting in Nustrename, fol. 99 verso; Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul, MS Hazine 1365; after Fleischer, C.H., Bureaucrat and Diplomat in the Ottoman Empire, pl.15

Book of Victory), written in 1578-80 to celebrate Ottoman conquests in Shirvan and Georgia during those years. The manuscript in which this painting is found is the royal copy of the *Nusretname*, now in the Topkapi Saray Museum.²⁷ The Ottoman vizier for whom the work was composed suffered a reverse in fortunes at the court and was executed by August 1580, giving an approximate date for the painting.²⁸

During these years, the Safavid state was plunged into chaotic struggles of succession. From the death of Tahmasp in 1576

to the rise of Abbas I in 1587, Iran suffered through a veritable civil war and the reigns of two dangerously inept rulers. Safavid and Ottoman interests had always overlapped in the Georgian kingdoms, and the Ottomans took advantage of this period of Safavid weakness and confusion to increase their holdings in the Caucasus. The Ottomans dominated Georgia from 1578 until 1603, in which year Abbas I invaded Georgia and recaptured Tiflis.

The painting in the *Nusretname* depicts an Ottoman military commander on horseback in the middle ground. The city of Shirvan, which he has just conquered, is in the background. In the foreground, wearing the by now familiar hats, are Georgians, with Alexander Khan II on horseback. Written next to Alexander Khan II is the word *Levandoglu*, Turkish for son or family of Levan. Levan was the name of one of the royal families of Georgia.

A member of the Levan family can be seen in our third source of visual documentation, Georgian painting. Here we can see how the Georgians represented themselves. There is striking similarity between the faces of the male captives in the textiles and the imposing face in Fig. 16, painted on the walls of a Georgian funerary chapel in Calendzikha. These faces feature curling mustaches, prominent, arched eyebrows, and narrow eyes.²⁹

With this conjunction of written and visual documentation, we can be reasonably certain that these textiles depict prisoners taken captive during Tahmasp's Georgian campaigns of the 1540s and 1550s. Closer identification of the events depicted in these textiles may be possible. As noted above, Safavid attention was focused primarily on the Georgian kingdoms of Kakhetia and Kartlia. Kakhetia was not devastated by Iran. The rulers of Kakhetia steered a careful course for Persian favor, offering fealties, presents, and even military service for Tahmasp. The court in Kakhetia gradually assumed Persian manners in eating, drinking, and even dress over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.30 By contrast, the Kartlians fought valiantly for their independence, and suffered greatly for it. The cities of Tiflis and Gori specifically mentioned in the chronicles are in Kartlia.

One may speculate that the pigs fea-

tured in the Berlin fragment are a reference to Gori, the town plundered on the 1553 expedition which netted thirty thousand prisoners for Tahmasp. According to Sir John Chardin, a French jeweler writing on the occasion of his visit to Gori in the 1660s, the name Gori derived from the Georgian word for pig because in that region of Georgia, pigs were both abundant and of excellent quality. Chardin writes of the great fertility of the land and the abundance of game, but notes that:

The common people see almost nothing but pork. You see it all over the country side. Truly, you can eat nothing better than this meat. The people of the country assure you that no one is ever sick from eating it, no matter how much is eaten. I think this is true, for although I ate pork at almost every meal, it never made me sick.³¹

It seems plausible that these textiles represent the events of the 1553 raid on Kartlia, the raid from which a spectacular number of prisoners were taken, including the Kartlian queen mother. Now, we should briefly examine the reasons for Tahmasp's campaigns and the impact they had on Persian history.

Tahmasp had ample precedents for his actions in Georgia. Both pre-Islamic and Islamic dynasties in Iran found Georgia a tempting source for tribute and plunder. In the Islamic era, however, periodic Iranian raids on Georgia had a new context, that of the holy war against the infidel.

The subjugation of eastern Georgia was one of the first tasks undertaken by the new Safavid dynasty. The first Safavid ruler, Ismail I (1501-1524), never himself invaded Georgia, but sent his armies there on several raids. Iskandar Munshi cites the "plundering raids and holy wars against the infidel" made by the Ottoman ruler Suleyman the Magnificent as Ismail's immediate inspiration for Georgian adventurism.

This aroused in the Shah also a desire to plunder infidel lands, and accordingly, for several years, he sent his forces against the Georgians, seeking the rewards of pillage, while he himself devoted his time to merrymaking and life at court.³²

Georgia's wealth derived from its loca-

tion on the crossroads of several major trade routes between East and West. Much of this wealth was concentrated in the ornamentation of churches. This provided a convenient pretext for the Muslim armies to destroy the infidel temples and take the riches.

Hasan Rumlu has left us a vivid passage from Tahmasp's third campaign, during which Safavid soldiers captured a number of forts and cities. He recounts the fate of Georgians who took refuge in "a wondrous church" set in a fort:

In the middle of the fort they had hollowed out a place ten cubits high, and made a church of four rooms and a long bench, and had painted its walls without and within with gold and lapis lazuli and pictures of idols, and arranged a throne in the second room and an idol gilt and covered with precious stones, and with two rubies for the eyes of that lifeless form, and within the church was a narrow way one hundred and fifty cubits long to go up, cut in the solid rock...the Ghazis fell upon that place and climbed above the fort and slew the men and took captive their wives and children. And the Shah and his nobles went to see the church, and they slew twenty evil priests and broke the bell...and destroyed the doors of iron and gold, and sent them to the treasury...Thus the Shah got great booty: and in it were two rubies being the eyes of the idol, each worth fifty tumans....33

Thus, the Christian kingdoms of Georgia were a rich and religiously justifiable source of booty and, of course, slaves. Georgians were much admired by the Iranians. As cited above, both Hasan Rumlu and Iskandar Munshi praised the Georgians for their beauty; the women were "beautiful as the maidens of paradise," and the youths "handsome as Joseph, of the breed of the youths of paradise." This general appreciation of Georgian beauty is echoed vividly in Tahmasp's autobiography when he writes of his vision in a dream:

I dreamt that my sister was in Tschehar Gendsch and had set up the tent and encampment bedding, and upon it were sitting charming women of great beauty and magnificent figures. They wore almost no finery or jewelry, but they were so beautiful, such as one rarely finds among men. I



Fig. 16
"Rustam of Dadian" wall
painting in funerary chapel,
Calendzikha, Georgia S.S.R;
after Amiranashvili, Art
History of Georgia, n.p.

asked: "Who are they?" My sister answered: "They have been brought out of Georgia for you."³⁴

In this passage of his autobiography, Tahmasp awakens, then slips back into a dream state and hears a verse that has been bemusing his dreams of late: "God wants you to be his agent." Suddenly, he realizes it refers to victory over his enemy—a curious conclusion to his dream of the Georgian beauties. It is interesting to note, however, that at least three of the women in Tahmasp's harem were Georgian, and of his children who survived until adolescence, four of his nine sons and three of his eight daughters were born of Georgian mothers. ³⁶

Beginning with the seventeenth century, we have similar testimonies confirming the physical beauty of the Georgians from the European travelers to Iran. These Europeans might be expected to show preference for the Georgians as fellow Christians. However, they have almost uniformly negative comments to make on the physical appearance of the Armenian women, who were also Christian.

Chardin, ever the Frenchman, wrote that to look upon Georgian women was to fall in love with them.³⁷ The Englishman John Fryer wrote in 1677: "They are Proper, Fresh-coloured, well-limb'd People. Their women so Fair and Beautiful, that the [Persian] Queen-Mother is always of the Family of the Georgian Princes."³⁸

Georgian men also caught the admiring attention of the European travelers. Fryer writes of the Georgians: "They are Whiter than the present Persians, and of a florid Complexion, being Portly well-limb'd fellows."³⁹ The Frenchman Sieur de la Boullaye-le-Gouz, traveling in Persia in 1648, wrote that Georgian blood was the most beautiful in all Asia, and that the bestformed men of Turkey and Persia owed their looks to Georgian blood.⁴⁰

Thus, contemporary sources indicate that Tahmasp's Georgian campaigns were holy wars with rich rewards of booty and beautiful slaves.

Modern scholars have suggested another possible reason for Tahmasp's raids in Georgia: the introduction of the new ethnic groups from the Caucasus may have been a conscious policy on the part of the shah to offset the power of the Qizilbash.⁴¹

The confederation of seven Turcomen tribes who supported the Safavid family in their rise to power are generally known by the Turkish term *Qizilbash*.

Although the images from the textiles show the Qizilbash soldiers firmly in command, the long-term impact of the introduction of Georgians into Iranian society was to have the opposite effect. The threeway power struggle between the Safavid royal family, the Persian administrators, and the Qizilbash military aristocracy is a major theme of the first century of Safavid rule. In the early years of Tahmasp's reign, the Safavid state was largely in the hands of the quarrelsome Qizilbash tribes.42 By the end of his reign, a new ethnic element had developed in the Safavid power equation, the Caucasian element, consisting primarily of the Georgians and Circassians. Entering Safavid service either as slaves or as volunteers, a number of Georgians succeeded to positions of influence and power in the administrative structure of the state. As noted earlier, a number of Tahmasp's sons were half-Georgian, complicating the struggle for the throne.

Whether the introduction of the Caucasian elements into the Safavid power struggle was a deliberate policy of Tahmasp's or whether it was simply the unforeseen by-product of his Georgian expeditions will probably never be known. By contrast, it is clear that Abbas I deliberately used Caucasian slaves to weaken the power of the Qizilbash tribes.43 Whereas his predecessors had to rely on the Qizilbash for military support, Abbas used the Georgians and other Caucasian slaves to create a new military force—a slave army, loyal only to the shah, not to a tribal amir. His model for the new militia was certainly the Ottoman Janissary Corps, made up as it was of Christian tribute boys. Abbas is reported to have referred to his new militia as "my Janissary cavalry."44

Georgia's worst misfortunes occurred during the reign of Abbas I. He reconquered the Georgian kingdoms that had been snatched from Safavid control by the Ottomans, killing tens of thousands of Georgians, and bringing an estimated 130,000 Georgians to Persia as prisoners.⁴⁵

Abbas used Georgians not only to create his new army, but also to settle or to repopulate various parts of Iran. Unlike

other religious minorities—the Armenian Christians or the Jews-the Georgians readily assimilated into Persian culture, converting to Islam and intermarrying with the local population.46 By the second half of the seventeenth century, French merchant Jean-Baptiste Tavernier could make the astonishing statement that "there are few Persians, from the King down to the least of his subjects, who have not a Georgian father or mother, or at least some Georgian blood."47 While Tavernier is undoubtedly exaggerating, his comments nevertheless must reflect what was then the popular perception of Georgian infiltration into Safavid Iran.

Thus with hindsight, it is clear that Tahmasp's harvest of prisoners from his Georgian campaigns in the middle of the sixteenth century was to have a significant impact on Persian and Georgian history. While the thirteen textiles are useful to modern historians as visual documentation of these events, as art historians we must ask what function these textiles served in sixteenth-century Safavid society. Certainly, these textiles commemorate the Georgian raids. Might they also have functioned as propaganda? The Safavids are known to history as skilled propagandists. Their rise to power in 1501 was the culmination of two centuries of dissemination of religious propaganda.48 What, then, might be the propagandistic message expressed by these textiles? Abstractly, it is the triumphant power of the state over its enemies; the subjugation of prisoners is a nearly universal expression of power in both Eastern and Western cultures.49

The early Safavids made cunning use of prisoners for propagandistic purposes. One revealing episode is the display that Tahmasp's father, Ismail I, put on for a diplomatic mission sent by the Ottoman sultan in the year 1504. To impress the Ottoman ambassadors with Safavid majesty, several important rebel prisoners, both living and dead, were brought to the main square at Isfahan and burnt publicly in their presence. The ambassadors were then dismissed with rich gifts and messages of friendship for the sultan. One can well imagine what message they brought back to the Sublime Porte.

Thus, the display of prisoners was a potent symbol for the early Safavids, com-

municating the military power and strength of the ruler.

More specifically, these textiles communicate Tahmasp's victories over a particular enemy, and his pride needed these victories. In his fifty-two year reign, the longest of any Safavid ruler, Tahmasp had few military victories to celebrate. In defeating the Georgians, he had not only warred successfully on the infidel, increased his territories, and enriched his treasury; he had, in military terms, defeated a most formidable adversary. The Georgians were a redoubtable foe, possessors of a fearsome military reputation. European travelers to Iran frequently remarked on the warlike Georgians. In Fryer's words, they were a "Martial People bred up to the Wars."51 But perhaps the most telling comment comes from Father Thaddeus Krusinski. Writing in the early-eighteenth century, Krusinski noted that the Afghans, who eventually invaded Iran and brought about the fall of the Safavid dynasty in 1722, were greatly impressed with the exploits of Iran's Georgian soldiers. According to Krusinski, the Afghans used to say that the Persians were but women compared with the Afghans, and the Afghans but women compared with the Georgians.52

For a ruler given little credit by historians for military capabilities, Tahmasp's Georgian victories were a major achievement. According to Hasan Rumlu, after the fourth and final Georgian campaign, in which more than thirty thousand prisoners were captured, "proclamations were sent around Persia with the glad tidings." Could textiles have been one of the media by which these proclamations were communicated? And, if so, was the medium of patterned textiles preferred over painting for this purpose?

I would like to end this paper with a number of speculative comments and questions based on the fact that we have a large number of textiles representing these particular historical events, but practically no corresponding paintings.

By its nature, a textile has potential for public display, for dissemination, and for mechanical reproduction. Compared to the small scale, and hence more private nature of manuscript and album paintings, the pattern on a textile can be woven as large as the loom widths permit. In the sixteenth

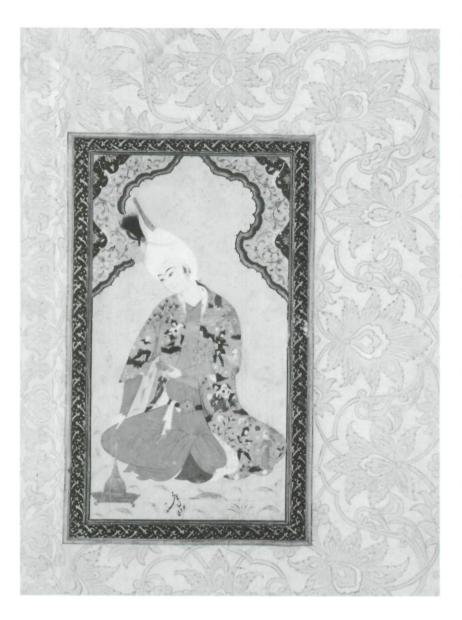


Fig. 17
"Portrait of a Prince" by
Muhammad Haravi; midsixteenth century; paper;
19.5 cm x 10.5 cm;
Courtesy of the Freer Gallery
of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 37.8

century, the standard loom width for satin lampas was approximately sixty-eight centimeters. The figures in these textiles stand as tall as forty centimeters. Thus, the textile images are considerably larger and, hence, more readily visible than those on most manuscript or album paintings. Whereas the images on wall paintings are limited only by the size of the wall, that medium has the disadvantage of being stationary. Textiles, on the other hand, are easily transportable and were disseminated within Safavid society as robes of honor to nobles, officers, and courtiers. Also the outside world received them in the form of diplomatic gifts to ambassadors or to foreign rulers. The painting in Fig. 17, datable to the mid-sixteenth century, depicts a Safavid

courtier wearing a robe with a prisonerscene motif. This suggests that patterns of this sort were indeed used for clothing.

As for mechanical reproduction, the Persian weavers were masters of the ancient technology of the drawloom. Once the draw-loom is programmed for a particular pattern, the image can be exactly reproduced over and over and over again. Could the patterned textile produced on a drawloom have served Tahmasp's propaganda needs as the broadsheet produced on a printing press served European rulers in the sixteenth century? The first attempts to introduce the printing press into Iran date from the seventeenth century, and they were largely unsuccessful.

In summary, this group of thirteen textiles furnishes an example of the value textiles hold for increasing our knowledge of history. With these woven fragments, we can literally piece together a vision of events significant in Persian and Georgian history.

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to the following individuals for discussions and suggestions while I was researching this article: from the Freer Gallery of Art and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Glenn Lowry, Curator of Near Eastern Art, and from the Library of Congress, Lee Avdoyan, Reference Specialist for Classics; Christopher Murphy, Turkish Area Specialist; and Ibrahim Pourhadi, Iranian Area Specialist.

Notes

- 1. The following three silk textiles feature scenes of Safavid captors with their captives but, differing in icongraphic details, do not belong to the group of thirteen textiles that forms the focus of this article:
- a. Safavid captor on horseback with bound captive (Uzbek?) following behind on foot. Satin lampas. The Textile Museum, 3.225. Illustrated with bibliography and listing of additional fragments of the same textile in catalog no. 22 of Carol Bier, ed., Woven from the Soul, Spun from the Heart: Textile Arts of Safavid and Qajar Iran 16th-19th Centuries. (Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 1987), 179.
- b. Safavid captor leading bearded, hooded captive by rope fastened around his neck. Damask. Yale University Art Gallery, 1937.4628. Illustrated in Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman, eds., A Survey of Persian Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), pl. 1012.
- c. Safavid captor leading half-naked, male captive. Complementary weft with inner warp construction. Freer Gallery of Art. Fragments of same textile illustrated in Friedrich Spuhler, Islamic Carpets and Textiles in the Keir Collection (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), 175, 180-81, no. 102; and in "Und Blumen sing' ich ungestört von ihrem Shawl herunter"—Persische Seidendes 16.-18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Besitz des Deutschen Textilmuseums Krefeld (Krefeld: Deutsches Textilmuseum Krefeld, 1988), cat. no.3.
- 2. Lampas is a particular combination of two weaves. See Dorothy K. Burnham, *Warp and Weft: A DictionaryofTextileTerms* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), 82-83. In Safavid weaving, lampas usually combines a 4+1 satin foundation weave with a 1/3 supplementary twill binding. See Milton Sonday, "Pattern and Weaves: Lampas and Velvet," in Bier, 57-83.
- 3. Compare, for example, the costumes in the famous manuscript of the *Khamsah* of Nizami (ca. 1539-43) in the British Library, OR. 2265. On the basis of both stylistic and technical features, I am unable to suggest a plausible origin for these thirteen textiles other than Safavid Iran.
- 4. To my knowledge, this article represents the first systematic attempt to define this group of textiles and to decipher its iconography. Previous efforts by Friedrich Martin and Phyllis Ackerman have dealt with a single example or only a small number of these objects. See Martin, Figurale Persische Stoffe aus dem Zeitraum 1550-1650 (Stockholm: Gustaf Chelius in Commission, 1899), 14. Martin considers the prisoners in the two fragments in the Kunstgewerbe Museum in Berlin (Fig. 1) to be Tatars. See also Ackerman, "Persian Textiles," CIBA Review 98 (1953): 3,526 which identifies the episode in the fragments in The Textile Museum (cover illustration) as a scene from the Shahnamah of Firdausi, representing Rustam and the White Div. See also catalog entry number 59 in Bier, 248.
- 5. Additional fragments of this textile are found in Paris at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 14497, and in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 04.107.
- 6. Two more fragments of this textile are found in the Islamic Museum, Cairo, illustrated in Gaston Wiet, Exposition d'Art Persan (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1935), pl. 2, t. 21. Four silk fragments are reproduced in Wiet's plate; only the two on the right belong to this textile.

- 7. The pattern reconstruction is the work of Milton Sonday, Nobuko Kajitani, and Lucy Maitland. Placement of the fragments belonging to The Textile Museum on the reconstruction was done by Rita Kauneckas, Conservation Assistant. Additional fragments of this textile are found at the Rhode Island School of Design, 21.360; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.58.7; and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 67.703, 06.375ab.
- 8. Additional fragments of this textile are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 03.685, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, 34-1903.
- 9. The word *Georgia* is the latinized form of *al-kurj*, the Arabic name for this region. In Persian it is *Kurjistan*; and in the native language, it is *Sakartvel*, and the people are the *Kartveli*.
- 10. For a discussion of Safavid-Georgian relations, see William E.D. Allen, A History of the Georgian People: From the Beginning Down to the Russian Conquest in the 19th Century, vol. 3 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1932), 131-206; Edward Granville Browne, A Literary History of Persia, vol. 4 (Cambridge: England, Cambridge University Press, 1928), 95; V. Minorsky [and C.E. Bosworth], "al-Kurdj," Encyclopaedia of Islam, rev. ed., vol. 4 (London: C.J. Brill, 1980), 492-94; Roger M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Safawid State during the Reign of Tahmasp I (930-84/ 1524-76)," Part 1 of Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 24 (1961) 84; Savory, Iran under the Safavids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 64-69; D.M. Lang, "Georgia and the Fall of the Safavi Dynasty," Part 3 of Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 14 (1952) 523-39; Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart, eds., Cambridge History of Iran, vol. 6, The Timurid and Safavid Periods (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 245-50, 264-68ff.; and Vakhushta, Part 2 of Histoire de la Géorgie, depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX siècle, trans. Marii Ivanovich Brosse (St. Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'académie impériale des sciences, 1856; J.L. Bacqué-Grammont and C. Adle, "Notes sur les Safavides et la Géorgie, 1521-24 (Etudes Turco-Safavides VIII)," Studia Iranica, 1980, vol. 9, fasc. 2:211-31.
- 11. Hasan Rumlu, A Chronicle of the Early Safawis Being the Ahsanu't-Tawarikh of Hasan-i Rumlu, trans. C.N. Seddon (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1934).
- 12. Iskandar Big Munshi, *Tarik-e 'alamara-ye 'Ab-basi*, 2 vols. trans. Roger Savory (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1978).
- 13. Tahmasp I, Die Denkwürdigkeiten Schah Tahmasp's des Ersten von Persien, trans. Paul Horn (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trubner, 1891).
 - 14. Vakhushta, 28-30, 152-53, 217-18, 387-88.
 - 15. Hasan Rumlu, 135.
 - 16. Hasan Rumlu, 143.
 - 17. Iskandar Munshi, 1: 142.
 - 18. Browne, 95-96.
- 19. In Islamic law, according to general doctrine and in historical tradition, the holy war, or *jihad*, is a military action with the objective of expanding or defending the realm of Islam. When the adversaries are Christians or Jews, *jihad* must cease as soon as they agree to submit to the political authority of Islam and pay poll taxes. In theory, *jihad* will be a Muslim duty until the universal domination of Islam is achieved. For further information, see E. Tyan, "Djihad," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, rev. ed., vol. 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill,

1965), 538-40.

- 20. Tahmasp, 102-3:"In Rücksicht auf diese Erzählung sagte ich: 'Da jetzt der gesegnete Monat Ramazan ist, so wollen wir nicht in das Land von Muselmanen einfallen.' Ich bestimmte daher, dass wir gegen Georgien zögen, das land Schirvanschah's die Ungläubige und Feinde waren..."
 - 21. Hasan Rumlu, 168-69.
- 22. Iskandar Munshi, 1:145. See Roger Savory's note on the same page explaining Qur'anic protocol for dividing up the spoils of war.
 - 23. Vakhushta, 30.
- 24. The English word *slave* serves as a poor translation for the Arabic 'abd mamluk. Unlike their counterparts in Western cultures, slaves in the Islamic world had legal rights and protections. Tradition maintains that Muhammad took great interest in the compassionate treatment of slaves, making pronouncements such as: "Whoever does not treat his mamluk as he ought to do, shall not enter Paradise." Emancipation of slaves was encouraged as a charitable action. See R. Brunschvig, "'Abd," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, rev. ed., vol. 1, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), 24-40; and A.J. Wensinck, "Mamluk," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3 (1936) 216.
- 25. An example is a painting ca. 1529 from a history of the life of Timur featuring a scene in which European envoys present the son of the Ottoman sultan to Timur. The sultan's son stands in the characteristic male-prisoner stance. As with the prisoners in the textiles, the scabbard is still at his side, perhaps a privilege of rank. *Zafarnamah*, dated 1529. The Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran. Published in Basil Gray, *Persian Painting* (New York: Rizzoli, 1977), 132.
- 26. Anthony Welch, "Siyavush the Georgian," Artists for the Shah (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 17-40.
- 27. Nusretname. Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul, MS Hazine 1365, fol. 99B. Published in Cornell Fleischer, Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).
 - 28. Fleischer, 77-79.
- 29. This painting is published by Sh. Amiranashvili, *Art History of Georgia* (Tiflis: Iskusstvo, 1971), as a work of the seventeenth century. It represents a member of the royal family of Levan Dadiani, as does a second mural in the same chapel. There were at least two kings with the name Levan Dadiani who ruled one of the Georgian kingdoms during the Safavid period—Levan I Dadiani (1520-77) and Levan II Dadiani (1611-57).

I present this painting only for comparison with the textiles, not to suggest that the figures in the textiles were members of this particular family. Georgian painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is poorly published at present and is an area of research that requires considerable work.

- 30. Allen, 139-48.
- 31. Sir John Chardin, Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient...nouvelle édition, vol. 2 (Paris, Le Normant: Imprimeur-Librairie, 1811), 38. "Le commun peuple ne vit presque que de cochon. On en voit part toute la campagne; à dire le vrai, il ne se peut rien manger de meilleur que cette viande. Les gens du pays assurent qu'on n'en est jamais incommodé, quelque quantité qu'on en mange. Je crois que cela est vrai; car, quoique j'en mangesse presqu'à tous

les repas, il ne m'a jamais fait de mal."

- 32. Iskandar Munshi, 73.
- 33. Hasan Rumlu, 159-60.
- 34. Ich träume darauf...dass mir meine Schwester in Tschehar Gendsch Teppich und Lägerstätte zurecht gemacht hat, und auf beiden sitzen reizende Weiber von grosser Schönheit und herrlichem Wuchs. Sie trugen gar keiner Zierrath noch Schmuck, waren aber so schön, wie man unter den Menschen nur wenig finden würde. Ich fragte: "Wer sind diese?" meine Schwester erwiderte: "Sie sind aus Georgien für dich geholt worden." Tahmasp, 98. More than a hundred years later, Chardin would repeat Tahmasp's observation that Georgian women used little jewelry or other embellishments to enhance their beauty. Chardin, 40.
- 35. "Ich fiel herauf wieder in Schlaf, träumte den ersten Traum nochmals ganz genau, und las wieder den Vers: 'Gott will dir ein Vertreter sein.' Da fiel mir plötzlich zu meiner Verwunderung ein, dass dieser Vers auf die Besiegung der Feinde geht...." Tahmasp, 98-99.
- 36. Tally made from Iskandar Munshi's list of Tahmasp's offspring, Iskandar Munshi, 215-19. See also Savory, 68.
- 37. "Le sang de Géorgie est le plus beau de l'Orient, et je puis dire du monde. Je n'ai pas remarqué un visage laid en ce pays-là, parmi l'un et l'autre sexe, mais j'y en ai vu d'angéliques. La nature y a répandu sur la plupart des femmes des grâces qu'on ne voit point d'ailleurs. Je tiens pour impossible de les regarder sans les aimer. L'on ne peut peindre de plus charmans visages, ni de plus belles tailles que celles des Géorgiennes; elles sont grandes, dégagées, point gatées d'embonpoint, extrêmement déliées à la ceinture." Chardin, 40.
- 38. John Fryer cited in Lang, 526. Georgian women's reputation for beauty had a long life in Iran. The vestiges of this tradition can still be heard in the words of a Frenchman visiting Iran in the late nineteenth century. Jacques de Morgan writes in 1899: "Les filles géorgiennes jouissent en Perse d'une très grande réputation de beauté, bien imméritée, à mon avis, car elles ont toutes des physionomies inintelligentes, mais les Persans les estiment beaucoup, de sorte que les Géorgiens de Ghurdjimahalla en tirent profit en vendant leurs filles aux Persans et en prenant eux-mêmes des femmes Mazanderanies." de Morgan cited in P. Oberling, "Georgians and Circassians in Iran," Studia Caucasica 1 (1963): 138.
 - 39. Fryer cited in Oberling, 141.
 - 40. de la Boullaye-le-Gouz cited in Lang, 525.
- 41. See Amin Banani, "Reflections on the Social and Economic Structure of Safavid Persia at its Zenith," Iranian Studies, 1 (1978): 91-92; Jackson and Lockhart, 362-63; Oberling, 127; Savory, 71, 84-85; and Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, 65.
- 42. Banani, 91; Jackson and Lockhart, 263; Savory, 65, 70-71.
 - 43. Banani, 95, 103; Lang, 526.
- 44. Banani, 102-3; Jackson and Lockhart, 265. "The strength of the Persian army consists today in the Georgian soldiers, who form its greater and best portion." Pietro della Valle cited in Lang, 525.
- 45. Minorsky, 493; Oberling, 133ff. Lang wrote in 1952 that Shah Abbas I was still referred to in Georgia as "Abbas the accursed." Lang, 523.
 - 46. Because the Georgians assimilated and inter-

married, illustrations from the memoirs of Europeans who traveled to Iran in the seventeenth century are of little use for comparison with the sixteenth-century textile representations of Georgians; the Europeans represented Georgians who were inhabitants of Iran and who had adapted to Persian culture. See, for example, Sir Thomas Herbert, *Thomas Herbert: Travels in Persia 1627-1629* (New York: Robert M. McBride and Co., 1926), pl. 8; and an engraving in Engelbert Kaempfer, *Amoenitatem Exoticarum Politico-Physico Medicarum Fasciculi V...* (Lemgo, Germany: H.W. Meyer, 1712), 175.

- 47. Tavernier cited in Lang, 526.
- 48. See, for example, discussions in Roger Savory, "Some Reflections on Totalitarian Tendencies in the Safavid State," *Der Islam*, vol. 5, 1976; and Michel Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safavids: Shi 'ism*, *Sufism*, and the Gulat, Freiburger Islamstudien, Bd. III, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1972.
- 49. See, for example, the engraving of "Monarchia Mondana" in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa*... (Venice: C. Tomasini, 1645), 415.
- 50. Ghulam Sarwar, History of Shah Ismail Safawi (published by the author, Aligarh, Muslim University, 1939), 50.
 - 51. Fryer cited in Lang, 525.
 - 52. Krusinski cited in Lang, 538.
 - 53. Hasan Rumlu, 169.

Copyright of Textile Museum Journal is the property of Textile Museum and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.